

2-15-16

What did N know of "end the war with honor"?

NOT: end the war — be expected probably
indefinite war,
small or (prob.) moderate

NOT: total victory (ARVN vs. NLF)

— NLF/NVA surrender
or totally destroyed

— effective GVN control of all
SVN (not, NVN), NLF/home

NOT: end of US combat involvement

(USAF/USA)

40-100,000

support troops

BUT: — end of US ground combat

+ signif. casualties (much lower
than all (407,000) cost)

— all or most US ground troops out

— China / US ally, friend, dependent,

to whom we made "commitment"

and who can demand we honor

it? (China formally/Nei-jin
68)

control of Saigon & all or most cities
most pop.

(NLF control of much/most
less-populated interior
(conceivably, 2 months
previous)
controlled, a not

X promise, agreement, which
they could never receive
without effectively to be blocked, or suffer repercussions

not just, by a DRV

— not just for 1-2 years after departure of
all or most US troops, but likely till > 1978

2-15-16

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- Es - Thore - Saigon OK 1977+

(contributed by N Secretary,

of Amer news - air - if
he chose.

Cong. support 2 "guarantees" of this, without US troops:
had to have - US air in support of ARVN/Thore
highly desirable, via B-52's (1972)

though not essential - return of US air to NVN if necessary,
for N - offer of aid to NVN

(Guaranteed as long as

US troops;

without, could go

either way.

More sensitive from Cong (in '73) to continuing air rather

than air + troops (troops must go -

entire movement better (+ US
can.!)

Air? depends whether it was
to fight PAVN or not.

(If aid: B-52's, Helos,
D-19 ("Puncher")

N got all of these conditions in Jan '73

(he didn't get what he had believed

essential (as did Thore - in Nov-Dec 72)

to asking for: MW - but 1972 offensive

showed it was probably not necessary.

He got one of his 2 essential ongoing demands

(and didn't want the other; though he about had Thore

agreed (how, US air?) & going up 3
on 14/11

NVN got one of its two comments —
US ant (NVA in); not, & him.

What did the expert to happen?

Not, & there, writing in '75

Not did N expert that.

(Maybe 1972-78) (later) - not certainly

This draft was not available in 1969 (or 1968)
to either:

N wouldn't give up Phin (+ air)

or unilateral withdrawal in '72
as in 1973

DRV wouldn't accept Phin in 1969-71

(or even ceasefire with POWs

with US troops withdrawn (but

US air remaining — NEVER MENTIONED

in private & public

Phin as sticking point for N & DRV:

(along with MNW/OW)

why?

air —

blockade as N's

why?

US air?

"Coalition in Phin

doesn't have to

Can control in 2-8 years,
from US air?

So N was successful where he wanted
in effect, in 1973-74

even then:

Was not at all

likely to end in a

year or so a half -

as it did

- US troops out

- POWs back

- US cash ended

- Costs way down

- China in power

- Control of pop. arms

- No immediate prospect of

NVA offensive

"weak" "Changfeng"

Prospect: return of US air, April 73, SVN & NVN
all about holding through 1976

(Then, Cong. cuts off funds in August -

but not likely to hold if N stops in effect

which is likely even after US service,

US Remains, ^(the trail) Phuoc Ninh revealed in May -

until Butterfield reveals tapes

- and even then, until Richardson & Richardson

date? but.

after massacre)

refuse to give Cox (& S.C. rules on tapes

(even then, he holds on until ... Aug. 8-9

74

N's policy of ending the war with honor almost
successful (It would have been longer if possible - as to
done in '72 before it succeeded)

Wm could have ended much sooner:
of REF

5

by NS back won (JFK)

(if "one" had looked in; McGee...

H LBI had moralized "Out of office"
helps

H George Wallace doesn't know that (q?)

+PP?

Antony would put a bid on war
but couldn't end it

NVA/NLF kept off from being "won" by US

[Angela: "love for US"?
?]

but couldn't end it

(despite massive efforts, 68, 72)

[Presumably each "should" have accepted

Paris terms, if offered, in 1969 - though
winter would offer, and winter would have
accepted). (20K from US end; 60+K NVA
- 5-1M civs?)

TOM WELLS
POINT - is "won"
at Home"!

I was the only
person to ~~join~~ ^{join} Movement

(except: Tony: MHH)

NYT, WP, (7
6 on S.C.

Mathias:
PS: (to NS)

James, Kellen, Bob
N.

of "a hundred" people whose unusual,
unpredictable (with high price, low volume - on)
actions were essential, none were movement
people (some Rapists; some Rapist victims)

except: only: those who inspired me (McG, Stein,
James, Kellen, Bob, Tony, Sidney, Royal, Tim, Steven,
(Friedrich? Ros, Byrne? to) Hammer, Mole, always appearing

2-22-16

2A9

People think N could have
signed the Paris Accords in 1969.

Wrong.

They suppose the North made
no major concession in 1973 (Oct 1972)

(that required 4 years of war
to bring out of them).

Wrong. Basically, and make a
concession they would absolutely
not have signed to 1969, unless
which no opponent - the other would
DRV to not have signed.

DRV - to allow Thieu to stay in office
1 to take funds for GVN in National
Reconciliation Commission to form Vietnam
or not to do so)

put price up POWs

GVN - to accept all NVH to stay in
South - unless losing all US ground troops

[no matter of position: US are
4000 had expanded for 5 years; position of NVH
required much material and of course

NVA had suffered (could DRV and have
operated?)

ending - and took to in 1972 - prospect
of peace in North

The key to the future was N's ² goal of
transition to return to Rome

I advise that N (close effort) in
Oct - Nov Dec

Context in which this was
only a direct interest (after banking)

How will I depend Xmas banking?

He was right. Paris began
only a direct interest - not
that was because it was beyond
control, and I could not monitor
his bank (out of of congress)
Had he stayed, he could have
won war.

(Baker was right
of that war -

to guide N out

(By choosing to turn N with
relations after I was on trial - about

N's not PP - Efforts to find what
I had (also W6) and get me.

W3

Memoranda
2-23-66

Wf me? No one else would come, only.

Wf also? ~~There~~ There were always a couple, a
dealer, a cook, and a woman around...

March 1968 (206K)

fall '69 N. speaker Nov 3 Monstern
don't let it become it's own

(There were more than
enough)

(like WPS in fall '67
next from
fall '70 -
the birds
won't let him)

Concentration

Rail, (pale green) belongs to WPT, WP

WPS →

1972 NSDQ-1: Nanjing mining

Wf at the cost? High level of services?

(Knew; like VN loc!)

(think: 20/70?)

It was rather right - often ought to do it,

see it - but they don't know what & how - secrets -

contrast (PP=) - or have experience (Killing war - (Ch-living?)

ES CC

MIT?

2. J. Egan, December 22
AUR's like scenario, NVT

2-23-76
4PM (Horn
Key)

self-tougher with dear!

against dear

Nothing will change if dear is fighting
no one does, if dear will not...

(Horn:)

Wann:)

↓ would prefer:

- dear due to do it

MAN, dear, dear, dear, dear

- dear go to dear, dear (the dear!)

- go to dear later, dear later...

(Wann)

But: dear dear

dear dear dear dear dear - dear with

dear - dear in fall '69, "NU dear
situation

[dear scheduled for: Nov 15, 30, Dec 15]

↓ dear dear PD & dear

and dear?

(NCC-5!) dear dear!

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- dear River, dear "gentle" (to RND, dear - dear)
was "exhausted by the giant horrible work."

(NCC-5) dear dear, dear - dear

S.G. - dear, dear! (Horn dear, dear?)